10525 George IV K

LESSONS

TO A

Young Prince,

ON THE

PRESENT DISPOSITION IN EUROPE

TO A

GENERAL REVOLUTION.

Quod munus reipublicæ afferre majus meliuſque poſſumus, quam ſi docemus atque erudimus juventutem his præſertim moribus atque temporibus, quibus ita prolapſa eſt, ut omnium opibus refrœnanda atque coercenda ſit.

Cic. de Div. lib. ii. ver. 4.

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INTRODUCTION.

EVERY Writer wiſhes to have ſomething underſtood, though he may ſeldom ſuggeſt the truth, reſpecting himſelf.

That I am approaching the extremity of life, may be credited, from my garrulity, from a general recurrence to diſtant events, as authorities, and from an affectation of prophecy or prediction.

—That I am diſintereſted, will not be ſuppoſed, at a time when the poſſibility of diſintereſtedneſs is diſputed. Concealing my name, even from the Printer and Publiſher, laying indiſcriminately before the exalted Perſonage I addreſs, the truths that occur to me, and cenſuring equally his friends and opponents, it will be difficult, for it is diffi-

cult to myſelf, to imagine any intereſt actuating my mind, beſides thoſe of a public nature.

That I have not been a ſpectator only of the incidents of this age, every man of buſineſs will diſcern by internal evidence—That I am not an Author by profeſſion, will be perceived by the loweſt retainer of periodical criticiſm—My great object is, to rouſe latent principles in a mind I think excellent, but which has been neglected, or miſled with deſign. If I ſucceed, I ſhall ſilently carry the ſatisfaction to the tomb that awaits me —If I fail, my laſt will only ſhare the fate of ſome former efforts—and their inefficacy will reconcile me to their oblivion.

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LESSON

LESSONS

TO A

PRINCE.

LESSON I.

VIEW OF THE PRINCE'S EDUCATION, AND ITS EFFECTS.

Privatas ſpes agitantes, ſine publica cura. Tac.

DEMETRIUS Phalereus adviſed Ptolomy to ſtudy books; becauſe things might be written in them, which his friends dared not adviſe.

Your Royal Highneſs is reſpectfully requeſted to conſider the preſent ſection as an hiſtorical picture, in which you are the principal figure.

It is the reproach of Engliſh education, that ornamental objects are preferred to thoſe of utility; and an invariable mode of forming a ſcholar is applied to all the purpoſes of life. The preceptors of your Royal Highneſs are not anſwerable for the defects of a plan, in the formation of which they were not conſulted. They may be ſufficiently juſtified by your proficiency in the belles lettres, and in the general accompliſhments of a gentleman.

In moral arrangements, and in prudential preparations for the firſt impreſſions of ſociety, the royal ſyſtem was extremely defective. The education of the King had been monaſtic; and the Queen, bred up in the œconomy of a little court, introduced a ſpecies of penury, as unfavourable to the minds, as it may be advantageous to the private fortunes of the royal children.

The moment of your Royal Highneſs's emancipation was that of a priſoner from confinement: you plunged into the joys of ſociety, with the avidity of one who had never taſted joy.

The ſtrong contraſt formed by the pleaſurable World and Buckingham-houſe; and the petty ſpirit

ſpirit of reproach and crimination incident to parents of recluſe diſpoſitions—generated that oppoſition, of which the great factions of the time availed themſelves, and to which alone it can be beneficial. It was taſte rather than judgment that determined your opinion on every thing foſtered at Buckingham-houſe; and the maxims of that houſe, which precipitated you into the arms of party, will ſhortly be diſcerned to have no affinity with thoſe of real prudence, or real wiſdom.

That I am not devoted to the party at Buckingham-houſe—for I call every combination *a party*, which is not formed on public principles—you will often in theſe lucubrations have occaſion to perceive. The greateſt evil of the oppoſition that boaſts your Royal Highneſs's ſanction is, that by an odium which time and talents have not abated, it ſhadows an adminiſtration incapable, ignorant, and at enmity with the eſſential principles of a free conſtitution. The preſent adminiſtration embrace every plauſible pretence to circumſcribe and aboliſh the trial by jury; beſtow honors and benefices with views of corrupt influence ſlightly diſguiſed; employ the pretence of paying off the national debt, to increaſe taxes and multiply eſta-

bliſhments for private purpoſes: and they involve the country in a predatory war, in hopes ſome chances may furniſh pretences for checking the progreſs of that liberty, which at this time menaces equally the inſidious chicane of one leading partizan, and the imperious audacity of another; which may call Britain as well as France to its ſtandard; and beſtow on its miniſters the fate of Breteuil, Brienne, Launay, and Calonne. With this actual character, and with theſe known views, miniſters are ſecure of their places, and may proceed without danger, in advancing the intereſts of their connections, and injuring thoſe of the public; in inſults to all rank, merit, and ſervice, not ſubmiſſive to their will; and in the moſt impudent jobs for parliamentary corruption—Why?—Not becauſe they are protected by your Royal Father—not from their intereſt or connections in the country—not by their abilities and talents—BUT MERELY BY THE UNIVERSAL DREAD OF THE RETURN OF THE COALITION. Let this dread be removed; let the people of England be convinced, that the conſequence of diſmiſſing the preſent adminiſtration *will not be* the return of a cabal into power, Pitt, and the corrupt cluſter ſurrounding him, would inſtantly ſink under the weight of the public

public reſentment of his perfidious ſervility in all the maſqued and cowardly machinations of deſpotiſm.

Pitt, therefore, may thank your Royal Highneſs for the proſpect of permanence in a ſituation for which he has no better qualifications than any other loquacious barriſter, who, by the habit of cloathing profuſely and indiſcriminately the ideas of others, loſes the power of inventive conception, and becomes as deſtitute of original ideas, as of real honor and moral principle.

Your Royal Highneſs will think me miſtaken, becauſe you will not eaſily imagine that I have more wiſdom or better information, than the perſons on whoſe talents you rely.

"What!" your Royal Highneſs may ſay, "ſhall I attend to the opinions of an unknown "writer, who may be a dotard, in oppoſition to "thoſe of a Fox, a Burke, a Sheridan, whoſe abi-"lities are acknowledged to be ſuperlative, and "who are forced from the public helm only by "the malignity of fortune?"

That I am unknown, is in my favour. By announcing my name, I might put in a claim to the attention and patronage of your Royal Highneſs. That the abilities of the gentlemen you protect are brilliant and ſplendid, I will allow; but that they are ſuperlative, or of the firſt order of human talents, I will examine; and if you will have the patience to attend me, I will enable your Royal Highneſs to judge.

On a ſlight recollection of the political atchievements of Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, your Royal Highneſs will perceive, that they have often furniſhed high and rapturous entertainment for numerous and mingled audiences; and that on queſtions of great importance, and in ſituations of conſiderable difficulty, their abilities have always diſappointed their friends.

I am going to hazard an opinion, on which I would hazard my life—that Fox, by far the ſuperior man of the party, is remarkably defective in the great and inventive properties of wiſdom—ſchemes, plans, information, or materials, have ever been collected for Fox by all the talents and induſtry of a powerful party; and he has, above all

all men, the faculty of inſtantly giving order and expreſſion to uncouth and enormous maſſes: but his mind not embracing the origin of meaſures, it is a chance that he directs them to the ruin or to the advantage of his party. I will give as inſtances—the coalition—the India bill—the inherent right to the regency—and the trial of Warren Haſtings—events which mark the public life of Mr. Fox with national odium; and he has incurred it, not from diſhoneſty, for if there be an honeſt man among all the political adventurers and champions of the time, he is Charles Fox; but for want of abilities, for want of wiſdom.——

Who projected the coalition, I am not informed. By internal evidence, I ſhould adjudge it to be the idea of Burke: the extravagant abſurdity of it ſuits no other mind.

The India bill, I am well aſſured, is Burke's own offspring; and it ſtrongly bears the impreſſions of its parent.

The doctrine of hereditary regency was furniſhed by Lord Loughborough (the well-known

Wedderburne) with abundant promiſes of authorities and reaſons, which were never fulfilled.

In the trial of Haſtings, eloquence has been employed, like water in an inundation, without judgment and without advantage.

All the objects in the contemplation of Mr. Fox on theſe celebrated occaſions, might have been obtained—not only without infamy, but with applauſe.

Pitt has obtained them all, with abilities greatly inferior, but with the art of profiting by the errors of Fox. He has all the advantages of the coalition, but with art of profiting by the errors of Fox. He has all the advantages of the coalition, by detaching Robinſon from his old maſter. He has acquired more power in India than Mr. Fox aimed at, by only ſaving appearances with the King: he has acquired popularity by a doctrine reſpecting the power of two eſtates in Parliament, which if advanced by Mr. Fox, would have procured his impeachment; and he has rendered his opponents the inſtruments of his own purpoſes reſpecting Mr. Haſtings.

Such

Such are the *ſuperlative* abilities of your Royal Highneſs's principal, though, perhaps, not your favorite counſellor.

That Burke has talents, no man of ſenſe will deny: but they are ſuperficial, oſtentatious, and want the guidance of judgment and ſcience. *Satis eloquentiæ ſapientiæ parum.*

Sheridan, with equal imagination, has more art; and being educated on the ſtage, underſtands the method of giving effect to every ſentiment, action, and expreſſion. But he is a mere artificer of ſcenes: his orations are plays in a new form; and they produce amuſement and admiration, never conviction and reſpect.

The abilities and accompliſhments of theſe three united would not conſtitute a ſtateſman, or a truly great man. Their fancies or imaginations are not balanced by ſcience, or by that high and exalted reaſon which is formed by the calm and patient ſtudy of philoſophy, a profound acquaintance with hiſtory, and the ſtrict diſcipline of mathematics.

Your

Your Royal Highneſs will therefore derive no real advantage from the boaſted talents of theſe orators, unleſs you ſhould be inclined to credit Rabelais' opinion of Pantagruel, who ſays he covered his whole army with his tongue, and ſheltered it from inclemencies and inconveniencies.

LESSON

LESSON II.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Rebus minoribus quiſque tendentes. Tac.

I KNOW your Royal Highneſs is not remarkable for long or patient attention; and that the important habit of it has not been an object in your education.

I have, therefore, divided the ſubject of the firſt leſſon I meant to ſubmit to your peruſal.

If the champions of the party you have eſpouſed are ſuch as I have deſcribed—if the combined talents of the phalanx have not produced public reſpect—what can your Royal Highneſs hope from a ſyſtem of favouritiſm for the elevation of the moſt exceptionable—I do not concur in the trivial objections to Mr. Sheridan's origin, education, and deſtination—If theſe were more exceptionable than they are repreſented to be; they are circumſtances in which the will and character of the man are not concerned.

I do

I do not object to any irregularities, which are the fair result of youthful and ſtrong paſſions.

I believe not one half of the common catalogue of his ſtratagems and expedients to procure or avoid the payment of money.

But Sheridan is a cameleon: his words, his ſentiments, his paſſions, take their colour from ſurrounding objects: he ſeems every thing to every man; is unſuſceptible of real attachment; and though he may have protectors and admirers, Sheridan is without a friend.

You may peculiarly diſtinguiſh ſuch a man—you may, on ſome future occaſion, give him the lead in your councils: but the power of a throne would not ſuſtain him in the ſituation.

Recollect the manner in which propoſitions from him have been received in Parliament, that would have covered another with glory. Recollect the principal cauſe, in the obtruſion of his interference during the illneſs of your Royal Father, and in his method of managing your paſſions to the purpoſes of his ambition.

The

The artifices of that period were ſo clearly and inſtantaneouſly perceived, that the nation felt to its utmoſt extremities a repugnance and deteſtation, which the amiable character and manners of your Royal Highneſs could hardly reſtrain within the limits of peace.

Can your Royal Highneſs imagine, that the country was agitated or intereſted by the queſtion of right? Do you ſuppoſe, that the probable acceſſion of the reſpectable and patriotic families of Cavendiſh and Portland occaſioned alarm? Or can your Royal Highneſs conceive, that exchanging Pitt for Fox in the offices of venality, could excite the general terror, which ſanctioned reſolutions of Parliament the moſt abſurd, the moſt unconſtitutional, the moſt inimical to Liberty; which embalmed the numerous and important errors of your Father's reign; directed the public wiſhes to the royal couch with a fervour little ſhort of idolatry; and hailed the King's recovery as a national ſalvation?—No; it was the dread of ſeeing the government of the country degraded, by being committed to a cabal,—of which I ſhall ſoon give ſome deſcription.

As

As it may be neceſſary to allude to A LADY, I hope nothing can eſcape my pen, that may be interpreted into injuſtice, or indelicacy to a ſex, which is under too many diſadvantages from the cuſtoms and laws of the land. Though I am old, I have not loſt my memory of the rapturous ſeaſon of love. I am incapable of an act ſo daſtardly, as to ſully the fame, or wound the peace of a woman.

It is not with love; it is with artifice and ambition, I am at war—and they are of no ſex.

When you felt the faſcinations of the *Perdita*, prudence ſmiled, and the error was juſtified by taſte: but Cleopatra never ſaw, never will ſee in Anthony, any thing beſides the probable maſter of the world.

Every meaſure, from the firſt moment of acquaintance, has been ſyſtematic: the experienced dame practiſed from art the leſſon which Nature taught Daphne; ſhe fled, that Apollo might follow; and by combining a ſlight and fickle inclination with great impatience, ſhe formed a paſſion, which

which had been in vain attempted by charms and talents infinitely ſuperior.

Theſe things would not have been worth the trouble of recording, if the great object of the ſyſtem had not been political power.

You will perceive this truth, if your Royal Highneſs will recollect, that when impelled by filial duty to attend your Royal Parent on a ſick bed, the Lady fixed herſelf at Bagſhot, under the ſympathetic wing of a Royal D——ſs, and attended by her *faithful, diſintereſted friends*, Mr. and Mrs. Sheridan.

On this occaſion the CABAL was formed, which with ſome variation in its members ſubſiſts to this time, and conſiſts of—a *very great* Ducheſs, a fair and plump Lady of great ambition, Capt. P—, B— P——t, Mr. and Mrs. Sh——n, &c.

Conceive, Sir, the public ſentiment, when a queſtion of the utmoſt importance was depending, no acceſs to your Royal Highneſs was to be had, no meſſage delivered, not a word to be ſpoken, without the knowledge of one or more of theſe

reſpec-

reſpectable Perſonages. The nation loſt all judgment on the ſubjects under conſideration: the people ſaw only the cabal: the little White Houſe in Pall-mall was regarded with the feelings of Syracuſe at the ear of Dionyſius; and the Miniſter might have marched his parliamentary adherents over propoſitions more abſurd and pernicious, than thoſe which aſſigned to prepared majorities in a vicious and inadequate repreſentation, the whole political power of a free ſtate.

The projected Court of the Regent did not eſcape the public knowledge; and the *great* Ducheſs had planned it on the model of that of Comus. The LADY was to be ennobled, to have her evening drawing rooms, in the manner of the Counteſs of Yarmouth, and the modes of venality which diſtinguiſhed the politics of that favourite would not have been inexpedient to the circumſtances, or unſuitable to the principles of the Cabal.

To accuſtom the public eye to the purpoſed inverſion of rank and order, the great Ducheſs introduced the Lady into the acceſſible purlieus of royalty, and ſhe was frequently diſplayed, as one

of its poſſible appendages, within the envied rails of Rotten-row. I ſaw the effect of that diſplay on the crowd which obſerved it; and if Pitt or Dundas had formed the ſtratagem, it could not have been more to their purpoſe. The heads of all the firſt families in the kingdom were offended at the appearance of Sheridan in the fore ground, during the preparatory tranſactions for a Regency; but their wives and daughters felt an inſult when the great Ducheſs conveyed the Lady in triumph to breathe the royal duſt of Rotten-row.

This is another inſtance of the judgment of your counſellors, who diſcern not that important conſequences often ariſe from little cauſes.—No circumſtance operated more rapidly and effectually than this incident on the zeal and attachment of the moſt reſpectable and valuable of your friends.

Since the Recovery of your Royal Father, thoſe friends juſt ſave appearances; they frequently expreſs their apprehenſions, that the habit of admitting and favouring witlings, buffoons, fidlers, fencers, and bruiſers, will continue too long, and fix your character with the public. Henry V. to

whom your Royal Highneſs is frequently compared, indulged his eccentricities at eighteen; your Royal Highneſs is approaching the age of thirty. Henry's Companions and his DOLL TEARSHEET, were the revellers of an hour; your Royal Highneſs is inveſted by an intereſted, ſordid ſet; their advice, their ſuggeſtions, their meaſures, would be a profanation of every thing princely: the modes of expence, the ſtratagems for obtaining money, the intermixture of *Royal ſpies* * and princely confidants, the familiarities of adventurers, &c. are not reſpectable, and being long continued, impreſs on the nation an idea of characteriſtic and incurable frivolity. This idea has been entertained by the moſt enlightened and valuable of your former friends; and their abſence from your private parties, or nocturnal conſultations, has given an artful and deſigning adventurer an opportunity of raiſing himſelf into conſequence, to the great offence of thoſe old and reſpectable families who actually placed on the throne the Houſe of Brunſwick, and ſupported it

* Miſs B— P—t and Capt. P—— are in the family without appointment, and hope to be the Madame Schwellenburgh and Jenkinſon of Carlton Houſe.

againſt

againſt foreign and domeſtic foes at a great expence of blood and treaſure.

I entreat your Royal Highneſs to conſider the circumſtances which menace the peace and proſperity of this country, however advantageous its preſent ſituation.

It has eſcaped the precipice to which the American war had brought it, by a concurrence of events in Europe, to which it has not contributed by its talents or meaſures, though folly may aſcribe them to its Miniſters and Councils: thoſe events will ſoon have their effects; and a ſtate of general peace, which even war muſt ſhortly produce, will favour that general diſpoſition in Europe for which philoſophy has been long preparing it, which muſt ſoon reach this iſland, and the nature of which I have undertaken to explain to you.

To contemplate this diſpoſition, to mark its approaches, and to judge of its effects, may be an employment as worthy your abilities, as it may be intereſting to your future fate.

LESSON III.

What! what! if they go on at this rate, in thirty years they will not leave a King in Europe!

GEORGE III.

IF his Majeſty meant arbitrary kings, or perſons inveſted with numerous diſcretionary powers, I am inclined to adopt the opinion.

Whether the executive power of the State ſhould be in one or in many, is not with me a queſtion: but that the executive ſhould controul, direct, or influence the legiſlative; or that any ſpecies of power, prerogative, or privilege ſhould be independent of the public will, is a queſtion to which the abilities of the world ſeem at this time to be directed.

If your Royal Highneſs would but very curſorily examine the hiſtory of Europe, you would find, in almoſt every page, inſtances and acts of power, prerogative, and privilege, to the diſadvantage and injury of ſociety. Theſe acts have excited con-

convulſions, which have been denominated rebellion or patriotiſm, according to their effects. It ſeems at this time to be the general purpoſe of political philoſophy—not to expel or degrade conſtitutional kings—but to demoliſh thoſe ſpurious and pernicious beings which are the offspring of privilege, and whoſe operations are capricious, arbitrary, and miſchievous.

The great inquiry before the philoſophical world is—not the nature of God, the mechaniſm of the univerſe, or the compoſition of its elements, but the principles of ſociety. The world has been flooded with the blood of its inhabitants by the caprices of tyrants, under the denomination of emperor, king, conſul, ſenate, parliament, and popular aſſembly; and the miſeries of millions demand of wiſdom, "Where is "the power which eſtabliſhes and connects all the "orders of a community, and on which they all "depend? Where is the centre to which every "thing tends, the principle from which all is de-"rived, the ſovereign that can do every thing? "Who can point out to us the form, the organi-"zation of that moral perſon, a ſociety or com-

"munity, to which unity is neceſſary, and of "which Liberty is the effect?"

What anſwers have been made to this demand, may deſerve the attention of your Royal Highneſs; as it may enable you to form an opinion on the King's prediction.

The ſophiſtry of political writers has been exhauſted on the comparative merits of monarchies, ariſtocracies, and democracies; but no model has been exhibited, no form delineated, of a ſociety which may protect and defend with its whole force the perſon and property of every one of its members, and in which each individual, by uniting himſelf to the whole, ſhall nevertheleſs be obedient only to himſelf, and remain fully at liberty to every thing but injury.

The general reſult, however, of inquiry and experiment on political ſubjects is,—an opinion or principle that the ſupreme power of every ſtate is in the body of the people; becauſe it can have no intereſt contrary to that of individuals, and ſtands not in need of guarantees: for it is impoſſible the body

body ſhould attempt to hurt itſelf, or have a diſpoſition to injure its members.

But how is the general will to be obtained? Individuals may have private wills regarding private intereſt; but the general will is directed only to the general good.

Hiſtory will not greatly aſſiſt us. Deſpotic and monarchic ſtates are out of the inquiry. Indeed every lawful government is neceſſarily a republic; for no other can have the public intereſt for its object: but thoſe denominated republics in ancient and modern hiſtory, have not the public intereſt for their object, and are not formed to promote it. Athens, Lacedemon, and Rome were ruled by idle and profligate mobs in contention with privileged ſenates. Ariſtotle ſeems to prefer the conſtitution of Carthage to any other; but he juſtly obſerves, it was highly reprehenſible, becauſe the ſame perſon might be appointed to ſeveral offices; and a certain revenue or birth was neceſſary to civil ſituations—virtue being eſtimated as nothing.

Modern politics have admitted, in a few ſtates, that the general voice ſhould have a mode of expreſſing itſelf, and that the mode ſhould be a part of the conſtitution: this has given riſe to the idea of repreſentation and the appointment of deputies.

BUT THE SUPREME POWER OR THE ACTUAL SOVEREIGNTY OF A STATE CANNOT BE REPRESENTED OR DEPUTED. Powers may be delegated of various and extenſive effect; but the omnipotence of ſociety, if any where, is in itſelf. In the attempt to delegate ſovereign power, the community would conſign to its princes or its parliaments the diſpoſition of life and property—on what condition? That they may diſpoſe of them as they pleaſe.

The act which conſtitutes government is not, cannot be even a contract; it is the will, the arbitrary law of an abſolute ſovereign. The depoſitaries of delegated power, whether called princes, ſenates, or parliaments, are not proprietors or maſters, they are ſubject to the people, who form and ſupport the ſociety; by an eternal law of nature, which has ever ſubjected a part to the whole.

But

But your Royal Highneſs may ſay, Why perplex me with ſuch inquiries? "I have always "been inſtructed, the conſtitution of England is "the utmoſt effort of human wiſdom; and I "ſhould anſwer you by a reference to that conſti-"tution."

LESSON

LESSON IV.

CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND.

Cunctas nationes et urbes, populus aut primores aut ſinguli regunt. Delecta ex his et conſtituta Rei-pub. forma, laudari facilius quam evenire; vel ſi evenerit, haud diuturna eſſe poteſt. Tac.

All nations and cities are governed either by the people, the nobles, or by ſingle rulers. A Republic conſtituted by an union of theſe, is to be wiſhed for rather than accompliſhed; or if accompliſhed, it would not be laſting.

THIS is ſuppoſed to be the plan on which the conſtitution of England is formed; but the ſuppoſition is groundleſs. The Engliſh government has fluctuated more than any other in Europe; and the fluctuations have been wholly owing to the operation of moral and political cauſes.

Violent imprudences of deſpotiſm produced ſome apparent and ſome real improvements in the adminiſtration of law; but the conſtitution of the legiſ-

legiſlature is a fraudulent deception; and the people of England have in reality no more choice or will in the election of their pretended repreſentatives, than the people of Hinduſtan, Perſia, or Turkey.

Let your Royal Highneſs be at the trouble of looking into Middleſex and Weſtminſter; and no parts of England are ſo free—deduct from the electors all the tradeſmen who are obliged to vote with their cuſtomers; the tenants who are appendages to houſes; and the freeholders who are entangled with the ariſtocracy or with government; and you may be ſurprized at the remainder.

Sir—a free people, that can neither form itſelf into a community, nor execute any operation; but is abſolutely ſubjected in its actions and energies, and in the ſubjects on which it is permitted to think and ſpeak — to powers conſtitutionally ſubordinate — is an abſurdity.

No people can be free, whoſe deputies may be enſlaved by the executive power, who ſee the pretended conſtitution and laws reſigned to its mercy without being able to oppoſe the abuſes by any things

things but petitions and complaints to those who have an interest in those abuses.

If I wished to give a summary of the English constitution, as it has existed some time in practice, I would not make extracts from the romances of Montesquieu or Blackstone—I would invoke the PIOUS muse of a Marquis Townshend or of an Edmund Burke, when warmed by the long-sought rays of royal favour; and as every thing is at this time covered by religion, I would place the most popular of your DEPARTED ancestors; and each in his day has been called THE BEST OF KINGS—before the GOD * OF ISRAEL, to whom he should offer the following devotions:

"If it hath been OUR object to dispute with an "aristocracy the government of a people who "support us, and to render liberty, property, and "life at the discretion of disciplined majorities, "in those assemblies which should protect them "—if to secure a sure though imperceptible domi-"nion over the legislature, and to add the power

* To what are we to ascribe, that priests never address *national* prayers to the God of Nature, Truth, and Virtue?

"of making to that of executing the laws, ſecreſy
"and craft have been ſubſtituted for authority and
"power, thou wilt forgive the neceſſity, as in the
"moſt favoured of thy anointed ſervants of an-
"cient times.

"We thank thee, that the aſſiduity and labour
"of many years have not been fruitleſs; and that
"we have A LOYAL AND DUTIFUL PARLIA-
"MENT. To ſuit temptations to the vain, the
"ambitious, the needy; to practiſe the various
"arts which influence vicious aſſemblies: to have
"the ſuppoſed repreſentatives of the people *in*
"*the confidence* of our ſervants; to induce them
"to declaim on national intereſts, while they pro-
"poſe the indulgence of their paſſions; to forget
"their country in defiance of engagements, yet
"to ſave appearances, or even to aſſume the fame
"of virtue.——Theſe are objects of magnitude
"and merit. The penſioners of OUR court and
"their numerous connections; thoſe who watch
"for occaſional douceurs; thoſe who make ſpeeches
"to force ſtipulations; and the flying ſquadrons
"which fluctuate between duty and temptation.
"——We thank thee, that we have nothing to
"fear from ſuch guardians.

"The

"The grand ſecret in the management of po-
"litical bodies is that of dividing them, and paſ-
"ſing the proſtituted parts for the whole. Every
"thing is accompliſhed when the legiſlature is in-
"volved in the faction of the court, partaking
"OUR bounty, or hoping to partake it, and joining
"in any meaſures the puppet WE fix at the helm.
"——Foſter, in thy goodneſs, the general diſpo-
"ſition to ſervility: the SACRED tribe has ever
"been ready to diffuſe pompous titles, ſublime
"names, and divine honours, as involved in the
"ideas of royalty; and if the Prince conſent to
"be their apparitor, to patronize their oppreſ-
"ſions, or to execute their cruelties, they ſoon
"inſtruct the credulous multitude to conſider
"him, as he may be, the repreſentative of THEIR
"God; his decrees as oracles from heaven, and
"blind ſubmiſſion as the moſt ſacred duty. When
"David hewed Agag into pieces, and when Nero
"murdered his mother, the prieſts led the people
"to the temples, to thank THEIR GODS for ac-
"tions, and to offer incenſe for crimes, which
"human nature abhorred.

"The enchantment of ſuperſtition renders ſer-
"viceable the moſt unprincipled and moſt infa-

"mous

" mous of men. On a national feſtival, the mouth
" of the congregation ſhall be the moſt celebrated
" for deception; the name being equivalent to a
" falſehood in every ſpot of the world: yet the holy
" bandage is tinctured and tranſparent; it ren-
" ders good evil, and evil good. The yoke of the
" prieſthood, though the moſt galling, is the leaſt
" hazardous of all the inſtruments of deſpotic
" power; that ſyſtem of civil tyranny is the moſt
" practicable, which is grafted on affections ſup-
" poſed to be religious; and this, through the
" world, is the deſired ALLIANCE OF CHURCH
" AND STATE.

" HISTORY furniſhes leſſons on the events at-
" tributed to thy providence. Our *pious* prede-
" ceſſor Henry VII. now with thee, always ruled
" by a faction; and, according to the *inſpired*
" Burke, it is the conſtitutional government of
" the land: it is true, he erred in the open ap-
" pointment of the Empſon and Dudley of the
" day; for he did not maſk them by oſtenſible
" innocence and honeſty; the judicious interpo-
" ſition of unſullied purity and blunt brutality
" would have enabled them, as it enables the in-
" ſtruments of OUR power to pervert forms, and

" to

"to diſtribute among OUR and THEIR friends the "fruits of general induſtry.

"Caſt a HOLY miſt before the eyes of the "people; give our miniſters wiſdom, to lull them "into ſecurity. Let determined profligacy and "profaneneſs, in the moſt favoured of our ſer-"vants, appear as bluntneſs; let juvenile igno-"rance be called candour, and the want of natu-"ral paſſions be deemed purity; and let a cautious "ſyſtem of avaricious artifice, which eradicates "every fibre by which a child is held to a mo-"ther's heart, be celebrated by all the bands of "venality, as ſupernatural and divine prudence. "——The people never foreſee their fate: it is "the peculiar faculty of our preſent ſervants to "render illuſive the birthright of Britons, and to "undermine, by plauſible pretences, the moſt ſa-"cred liberties: the laborious peaſant, or the in-"duſtrious mechanic, perceives not his ſervitude "until he is ſprinkled by the blood of his fellow-"ſubject, or feels himſelf unexpectedly cruſhed.

"By the preſent ſyſtem of finance, the inte-"reſts of the treaſury are ſo entwined with the "general property, that it requires the moſt deli-

"cate

"cate hand to lay the axe at any of the roots of "corruption. The moſt oppreſſive miniſter, if "he uſe the language of reluctance and candour, "may be effectually ſupported by the numerous "FACTORS of his adminiſtration; by ſpeculators "in funds, by contractors, brokers, ticket deal-"ers; by the timid, the weak, the fickle, the "ſordid, the indolent poſſeſſors of money: theſe "form powerful and extenſive factions in favor "of the ſlighteſt whiſper from the treaſury; they "raiſe a clamor againſt the complaints of pa-"triotiſm, and they ſmother the melancholy mur-"murs of the nation. Yet occaſional difficulties "ariſe. The wants of venality are infinite; and "though we contract debts with one hand to ac-"cumulate with the other, the avarice of ..... "is an unfathomable and inſatiable abyſs.——En-"lighten the ſoul of our HEAVEN-BORN miniſter "with the ſtrongeſt rays of invention, but ſur-"round his heart with ice; let it never palpitate "with any paſſion that does not ſpring from ſyſ-"tematic depredation; let him be dead to all "pleaſure and all joy, for he might otherwiſe "be moved by pity at the cries of want in the "fangs of exciſe. Concentrate all his affections "in the ambition of ſerving US with the hope of

" immeaſurable reward; confirm him in the ex-
" quiſite hypocriſy by which fallacious hopes are
" held out, that the public burdens will be remo-
" ved, and the public vexations mitigated: may
" he live without ties, avoid the inconveniences of
" generous paſſions, AND WE WILL EXTINGUISH
" HIS FAME, LIKE THE IMPOSTURE OF CHAT-
" HAM, BY REWARDS THAT SHALL RENDER
" HIM INFAMOUS!

" We thank thee, that by his aſſiduity the arms
" of the cuſtoms and exciſe nearly embrace the
" land. Inſtruct their numerous retainers to in-
" ſinuate the maxims of ſubjection, to abuſe by
" fear, to ſeduce by hope, to corrupt by avarice;
" to diſſipate all averſion of power, and all hor-
" ror of tyranny; to expatiate on OUR SACRED
" UNDERTAKINGS, and to beſtow encomiums on
" deeds which *profane*, and audacious patriotiſm
" would brand with infamy.

" WE now hear little of ſenſible, ſober, or wiſe
" men; of that elevation which ſcorns ſervility to
" power, or of that generoſity which, in every
" form, would eſpouſe the cauſe of Liberty: we
" ſee only ambition, variouſly maſked, anxiouſly
" mark-

"marking the ſources of wealth; wretches who
"hope to proſper by public diſorder; ATHEISTIC
"prieſts in the garb of piety, ſervile academi-
"cians, diſputatious pedants, and the variegated
"herds of political and eccleſiaſtical proſtitutes.

"Protect thoſe ſocieties, academies, ſchools,
"and univerſities, where every thing may be
"taught, except the DUTIES of kings, the rights
"of ſocieties, and the general privileges of man-
"kind.

"Let the retainers of wiſdom ſeek conſolation
"in virtuous poverty; give us ſupple penſioners,
"brilliant ſophiſts, and proſtituted ſycophants;
"the praiſes they beſtow are profuſe, and they
"fly on LAUREATED wings through every cli-
"mate to cull the flowers of adulation, while
"obſtinate integrity ſuffers in ſilence, or the ſighs
"of impracticable virtue are encloſed by the walls
"of its wretched habitation.

"By the wiſdom inſpired by the GOD OF JACOB
"we have converted our bittereſt enemy into a
"friend. The liberty of the preſs, our averſion
"and horror, is now our advantage; for inſtead

"of uſing the chicane and fraud of law, which "are pernicious to friend and foe, we directed "into that province OUR BENIGN AND ROYAL "INFLUENCE; it inſtantly attracted the ſecon- "dary ſwarms of literati, whoſe exiſtence, like "that of reptiles, depends on depredation and "injury: deſtitute of virtue, they will not aſcribe "it without reward; and their ſhafts of ridicule "are poiſoned by envy; glorious deeds they de- "preſs with alacrity; good actions ſicken them, "and the friends of liberty they cordially aſperſe. "——We laud and praiſe thee for mercenary "ſcribblers in all the provinces of literature; "THOU HAST MADE NO VERMIN IN VAIN; "thoſe who feed on our reputation and happi- "neſs, as well as thoſe who burrow in our fleſh: "their efforts are leſs offenſive than the villainies "of lawyers in aſperſing popular and aſpiring "men, when in oppoſition to the treaſury, and "vilifying or defaming thoſe who counteract the "machinations of the cabinet.

"We thank thee for thoſe proſtituted multi- "tudes ſo eaſily obtained in this town, who ſpread "rumours, excite ſuſpicions, and ruin all public "confidence in the pretenſions of virtue: thou "haſt

"haſt enabled US to deviſe thoſe ſnares which en-
"tangle popular characters, and induce them to
"diſgrace themſelves.

"Our PIOUS brother Louis XIV. when he
"wiſhed to deceive the French nation, had re-
"courſe to feſtivals called religious, and the diſ-
"play of the fine arts, which encourage thoſe
"only who ſubſiſt by the follies of the opulent,
"and the induſtry of whoſe profeſſors attaches
"them to no country. While the inconſiderate
"multitude is devoted to joy, they perceive not
"the chains which WE cover with flowers; the
"remote conſequences that threaten them, and
"by which every controlling check on our power
"is to be cut down.

"By feſtivals, ſhews, and exhibitions, WISE
"politicians extinguiſhed in Rome that reſtleſs
"love of liberty, ſo inconvenient to power. The
"progreſs of the arts has been ever accompanied
"with the progreſs of ſlavery, and even ſciences
"of a ſedentary and puerile kind have ſimilar ten-
"dencies. Hence the ſervile devotion of acade-
"mies, ſocieties, and learned corporations.

" It requires the higheſt portion of wiſdom from " THEE to render the army tolerable to *ſeditious* " Engliſhmen: ſoldiers have been GRADUALLY " ſubſtituted every where for civil officers; they " arreſt offenders, they attend malefactors, or they " clear the highways; they are placed at the en- " trance of theatres, auction and exhibition rooms; " they watch the people wherever they meet, and " ſerve as nightly guards where any thing valua- " able is to be protected: they have tried inſults " and injuries on the people, who are not ſuffered " to defend themſelves.—When the whole of this " good work is perfected, OUR ſoul will ſing hal- " lelujah to THEE, O GOD OF ARMIES!

" In this complicated ſyſtem of policy, if any " errors are committed, thou knoweſt WE CAN " DO NO WRONG; the blame is on bad counſel- " lors. Let the evils of a deteſtable and diſgrace- " ful war be on Lord ———; WE have changed " OUR adminiſtration, and if WE ſucceed not in " any of OUR views by the inſtrumentality of OUR " preſent ſervants, WE will repent of the unſuc- " ceſsful meaſures, diſmiſs the unſucceſsful miniſ- " ter with the guilt of failure on his head; and, " without the apprehenſion of future conſequen-

" ces;

"ces, direct all OUR high prieſts to call the GOD "OF ISRAEL to witneſs OUR intentions. In all "theſe things WE trace the ſteps of the PIOUS "MARTYR, and of ALL THE NURSING FATHERS "AND NURSING MOTHERS OF THY CHURCH."

But I will delineate the Engliſh Conſtitution more explicitly, than can be done by any imitation of the preſent faſhionable devotion.

LESSON V.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

When Princes, who ought to be common parents, make themſelves a party, and lean to a ſide—it is a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight. Lord Bacon.

WITH all the boaſted learning and improvement of mankind, no ſociety has been yet ſo conſtituted or organized as to produce that genuine public principle, whoſe object is the ſecurity and happineſs of the community without injury to the rights of the world.

As men emerge from ſavage into civilized conditions, ſome ſpecies of talents obtain a preference, and the general labour is taxed to ſupport privileges, and to fulfil the iniquitous and monſtrous engagements of hereditary and perpetual rewards.

Hence the origin of dignities, ranks, and families, the various combinations of which have formed all the governments on earth.

The

The gradations of moderate oppreſſion, or of cruel tyranny in thoſe governments, have been owing to the various modes of combination in the oppreſſors; and thoſe modes have been inaccurately, but commonly denominated CONSTITUTIONS.

I wiſh not to teize your Royal Highneſs on the ſuppoſed origin and ſtructure of the Engliſh government: it has no other origin than that of all artifices, to ſubject the general induſtry to the caprice, convenience, and pleaſure of fortunate adventurers. The internal agitations of ſtates and their external wars, though attributed to other cauſes, have been wholly owing to the operations of theſe combinations, or to competitions for their unjuſtifiable prerogatives.

When the Saxons had ſubdued England, they inſtituted as many governments as there were powerful heads of armies; the common ſoldiers of which they admitted to privileges, on the condition of holding in the moſt wretched ſlavery the peaſants of the country: this extended the privileged combinations widely; and the jarring intereſts, claims, and principles produced by the union of

of the heptarchy, furniſhed the vigorous and comprehenſive genius of Alfred with the firſt correct and rational idea of a political conſtitution which is recorded in hiſtory.

The circumſtances of the country requiring the ſteady and continued exertion of its utmoſt force, he had the genius to diſcern, that the exertion of that force could not be obtained by the actual concurrence and exerciſe of the general will: he, therefore, organized the free parts of the community into a political conſtitution, the beſt imagined and the moſt effectual that has hitherto been exhibited in the world.

To ſave your Royal Highneſs the trouble of diſcovering this invention by my deſcription, I will exhibit it in a diagram.

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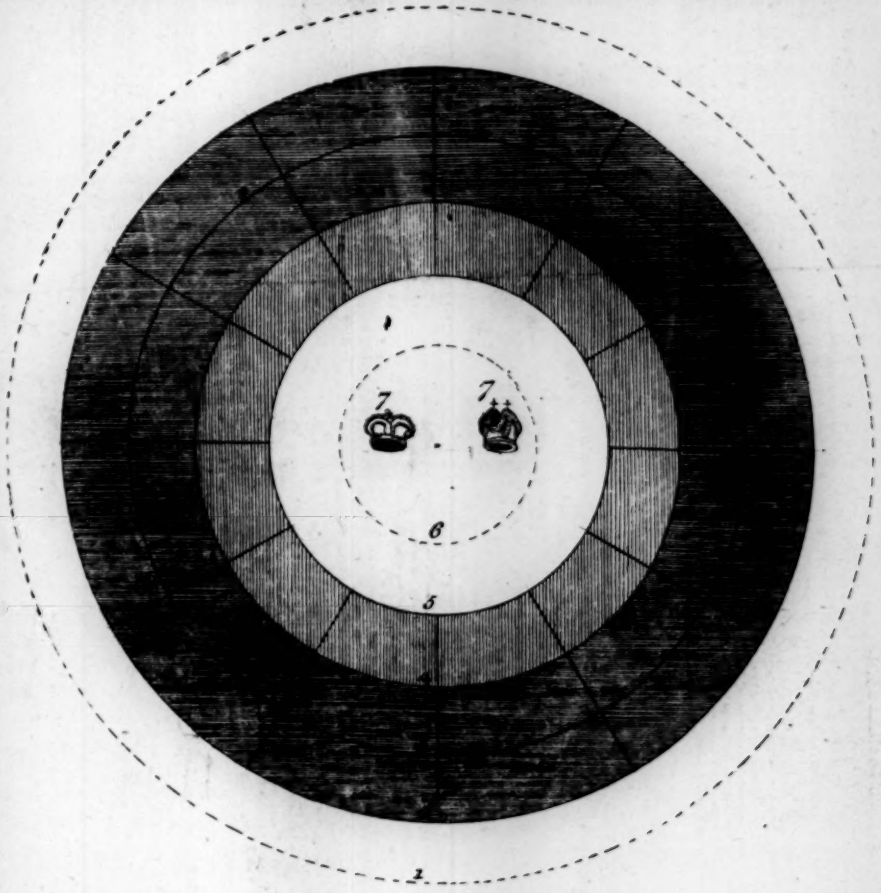
The

POLITICAL CONSTITUTION of ENGLAND by ALFRED.



1. Peasants in Slavery.
2. Freemen in Tythings, actually electing their Tything Men annually
3. Judges, Magistrates & Commanders of the Hundreds elected by the Tything Men annually.
4. Commanders & Magistrates of Counties elected annually by those of the Hundreds.
5. The Mycle-Gemot, Folkmote, or annual Assembly of all the Freemen in the Nation, in which the ordinary Acts of the Legislature & Government were adjudged.
6. Wittenagemot - The ordinary Legislature consisting of the King, Barons, Bishops &c.
7. The Executive & Ecclesiastical Powers co-ordinate.

By an attentive glance your Royal Highneſs may underſtand the excellences and defects of this wonderful fabric, and learn to revere the memory of a prince, who in an age deemed dark and ignorant could look further into a ſcience which has hitherto baffled the ſtrongeſt efforts of human reaſon, than any philoſopher or ſtateſman of ancient or modern times.

Your Royal Highneſs will obſerve, there can be but two ſpecies of government—by the general will, or by the will of one or more perſons controuling the general will. The latter, in all poſſible variations, not being juſtified by reaſon, the neceſſary principles of juſtice, or by experience—a general acknowledgment has been obtained, that the reaſonable, equitable, and beneficial principle of every political conſtitution is the public will; but the mode of forming or obtaining that will was a problem inexplicable until it attracted the powers of the immortal Alfred.

The political ſtructure of this great prince has all the neceſſary properties and effects of an organized body. The head and the extremities are permanently united; not by occaſional elections,

or by pretended delegations of national power. The whole ſurface of the body is formed to receive and tranſmit inſtantaneous impreſſions, external and internal; all the parts are held to their offices by the general force, without commotion and without violence; and the public will being enforced by the public ſtrength is a law which nothing in the community can diſpute or reſiſt.

Two diſeaſes remained in the actual community organized by Alfred, which his power could not eradicate, but which his political conſtitution would have gradually expelled—the ſuperſtitious dominion of eccleſiaſtics and the ſlavery of the peaſants. The appointment of eccleſiaſtics, by any ſpecies of patronage, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with public liberty, as it is with the private honour and virtue of thoſe who are appointed; and the community that admits of ſlavery, even in the moſt obſcure and unfortunate of its members, is a monſter, the offspring of ignorance and injuſtice.

The ſucceſſors of Alfred inherited not his genius, and the general confuſion and miſery impaired the ſtructure he had formed; the Norman con-

conqueſt completed its ruin, and a mode of government took place, in which the general will was not conſulted.

The internal agitations of the ſtate from the Conqueſt to the Revolution were thoſe of princes and barons, as competitors for a prize, or as beaſts for prey; and if your Royal Highneſs will candidly conſider the celebrated Revolution, you will find it a compact between the Prince and Princeſs of Orange and the heads of certain families, attended by the Mayor of London and other perſons in the exerciſe of authority.

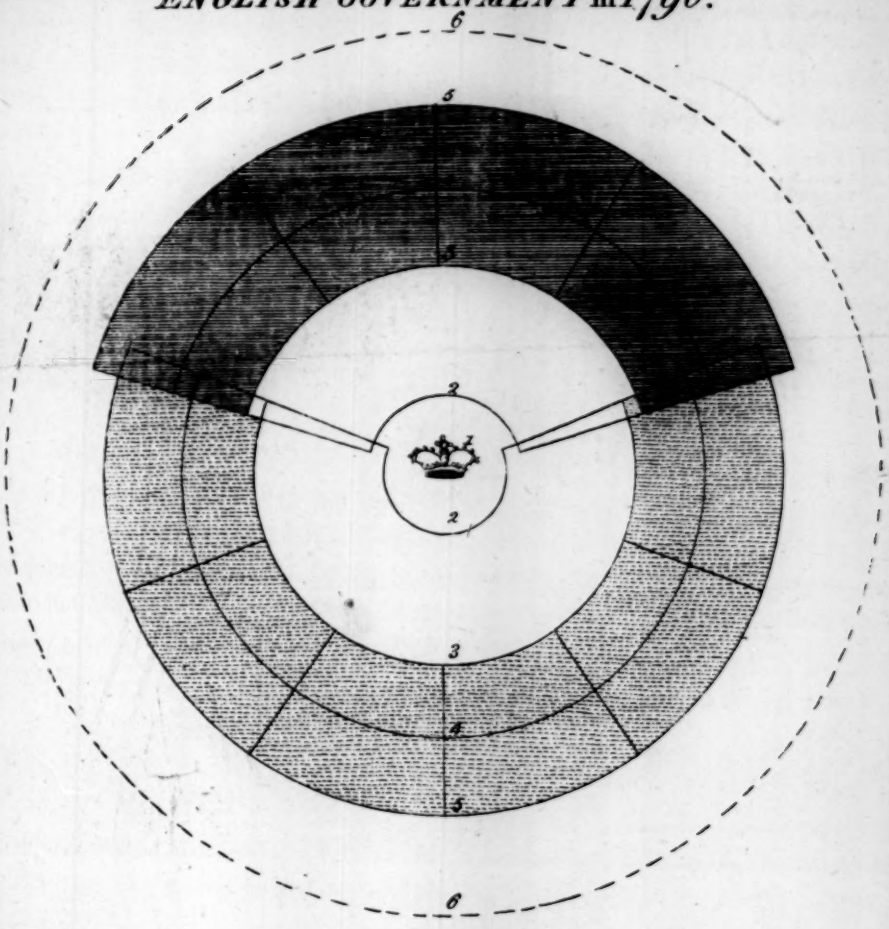
I have no doubt, that the meaſure had the general approbation; but the nation had no ORGAN by which it might form or expreſs the public will.

Government for ſome time was conducted by the advice, direction, and influence of the great families, which placed the houſes of Orange and Brunſwic on the throne; long poſſeſſion formed the idea of an hereditary claim in thoſe families to occupy the principal offices of the State, and a reſiſtance to that claim, by perſons who had no further

further views than to participate its advantages, has occasioned all the factions and contentions of the late reigns.

The government of England—FOR ENGLAND HAS NO POLITICAL CONSTITUTION—may be thus delineated:

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT in 1790.



1. The Crown considerably emancipated & influencing a small majority of the Aristocracy.
2. The Aristocracy divided almost equally.
3. The Legislature appointed by the Crown & the Aristocracy; & influenced & divided in the same manner.
4. Lord Lieutenants, Archbishops, Bishops, &c. appointed influenced & divided in the manner of Parliament.
5. Justices of the Peace, Rectors, Vicars &c. appointed, influenced & divided by their Patrons.
6. The Body of the People, variously operated upon, & amused by forms, but having no election, choice, or share in the Political Government.

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By comparing theſe delineations with the ſtructure of Alfred, your Royal Highneſs muſt perceive the difference between a whole ſociety organized into a political conſtitution, and any internal machinery at the will of one or more perſons, to affect, to influence, or enſlave the ſociety: the firſt is, Prometheus at liberty, and conferring heavenly bleſſings on the world; the other is, the vulture feeding on his liver, while his body is chained to a rock.

LESSON VI.

SPECULATIONS.

" I have been taught not to ſubmit implicitly to have in " view actions which are deemed practicable, but " thoſe which may have more of the poſſibility of wiſhes " than the probability of execution; and to undertake " them when the circumſtances of time and power ſeem " moſt favorable."

THE ſtruggles of factions in England were always conducted under plauſible pretences. The Tories profeſſed exalted opinions of the prerogatives of Kings and the privileges of Eccleſiaſtics; and were the votaries of deſpotiſm ſlightly diſguiſed. The Whigs wore a better maſque: for they readily allowed the people the forms of election and the appearance of repreſentation, but rendered them ineffectual or miſchievous by the modes of conducting and influencing them—They protected the church, as the beſt inſtrument of corrupt meaſures; and by this circumſtance alone they

they checked that progreſs of political knowledge and that love of liberty, which would probably have reſtored the conſtitution of Alfred.

I will explain myſelf, leſt your Royal Highneſs ſhould imagine me a ſectary; a denomination I abhor.

Partial toleration of opinions, like the partial liberty of the preſs, produced miſchief inſtead of advantage. Numerous ſects appeared in rancorous competition with each other, and in implacable hoſtility to their common oppreſſor, the Church.

When any effort was made to obtain redreſs of grievances, civil or religious, the ſectaries crowded the ſtandard of reformation; ſome artful prieſt ſounded the trumpet of bigotry, impreſſed an idea of danger to the Church; and the beſt intentions for public advantage were involved in the general odium of ſectaries.

Theſe artifices were penetrated by philoſophers —the great benefactors of the world. Mr. Locke wrote a treatiſe on Government; Monteſquieu

the Spirit of Laws; Hume threw out hints in Eſſays; Rouſſeau blended profound truth and brilliant ſophiſms in the Social Compact; Stewart collected the important ſcience of Europe into the Inquiry on Political Oeconomy; and Adam Smith pointed out the channels by which induſtry conveyed and accumulated wealth.

Great as the talents of theſe philoſophers may be deemed, and conſiderable as the ſervices they have rendered the world, they have not at all conſidered, or they have left in doubt and uncertainty the problem moſt important to the happineſs of mankind, and which an ancient ſage * has thus expreſſed, "The only ſkill and knowledge of any "value in politics is that of governing All by "All."

The government of England exhibited to their view every actual effect of deſpotiſm, while it preſerved the forms and even the reputation of Liberty. They propoſed temporary remedies for partial evils; but no man furniſhed a plain, practicable idea of a free Conſtitution.—Mr. Locke's

* Heraclitus, in Sir W. Temple's Miſcell.

obſer-

obſervations are in favour of liberty; but they are general; they ſtate rights which oppreſſive governments may not diſpute: but the mode of aſſerting, recovering, or preſerving them he does not point out.

Monteſquieu, as a philoſophical hiſtorian, is extremely valuable; as a politician, he is uſeleſs or he is pernicious: the opinion that climate ſhould produce and modify government, is fanciful, perhaps puerile; but the idea that any natural and neceſſary cauſe ſhould generate A SLAVE, is unphiloſophic, untrue, and deteſtable.

Mr. Hume had talents for political inquiries; but he was principally ſolicitous for his own fortune and his own fame: his temper and heart were cold; and he apologized for tyranny with as much zeal, as he would have felt in deſcribing the deſtruction of the Baſtile, or the demolition of the infernal dungeons of the Inquiſition.

In the enumeration of the origin and effect of moral cauſes Hume is a philoſopher; in the following important opinion, I fear he is an intereſted ſophiſt; "It will be found, if I miſtake not, that

"the two extremes in government, Liberty and "Slavery, commonly approach neareſt to each "other; and that as you depart from the ex- "tremes, and mix a little *Monarchy* with Liberty, "the government always becomes *free* and *è con- "tra*," Eſſay II.—In the fourth Eſſay he calls it an "*univerſal* axiom, that an hereditary prince, "a nobility without vaſſals, and a people voting "by their repreſentatives, form the beſt monar- "chy, ariſtocracy, and democracy."

In his idea of a perfect commonwealth, there are many uſeful ameliorations of what is called the Engliſh Conſtitution; and in the laſt quotation I ſhall ſubmit from his works, he ſhuns the great difficulty of the queſtion under conſideration, for a reaſon which may make your Royal Highneſs ſmile—"Having intended in this Eſſay, "(XV.) to make a full compariſon of civil liberty "and abſolute government, and to have ſhewn "the great advantages of the former above the "latter, I began to ſuſpect, *that no man in this "age* was ſufficiently qualified for this undertа- "king; and that whatever any one ſhould ad- "vance, would in all probability be refuted by

"far-

"farther experience, and be rejected by poſte-
"rity."

Rouſſeau's heart atoned for the caprices of his head; and his ſenſibility to injury, if committed on a worm, drew his penetrating eye into the receſſes of political intrigue.

Though the ſuppoſition of ſocial compact, the foundation of his treatiſe, be wholly fanciful, for the idea of a political conſtitution is produced like that of a wheelbarrow, it is wonderful how frequently he approaches the truth.

"When the people have choſen deputies, are
"they defunct, are they annihilated? Though
"they cannot ſpeak by the laws, they *ſhould* have
"a mode of attending to their adminiſtration."—
"The general voice ſhould have a mode of ex-
"erting itſelf, or it is uſeleſs, and that mode
"ſhould be *a part of the Conſtitution*: the whole
"of the State ſhould ever accompany the general
"Will."

This idea was ſuggeſted to Rouſſeau by the periodical councils of Geneva, which had a power to

to oblige the magiſtrates and all the orders of the State to confine themſelves within the bounds preſcribed by the Conſtitution.

He obſerves, "The general Will ſhould flow "from All to be applicable to All—every one ſub- "jects himſelf to the conditions he impoſes on "others: this is equitable, becauſe common to "all; uſeful, becauſe it can have no object but "the general good; and durable, becauſe reſting "on the public ſtrength."—But,

"Hath the body politic an organ to make "known its Will?—The general will is always "in the right; but the judgment by which it is "directed, is not always ſufficiently informed.— "Individuals often ſee the good they reject; the "public is deſirous of that which it may be "incapable of receiving: both equally ſtand in "need of a guide. Hence ariſes the neceſſity of "a legiſlator." B. II. c. 6.——Rouſſeau is thus beautifully and pertinently ſententious; but his genius leaves him, where alone its exertions could have eſſentially benefitted ſociety; and he is taken up by his declamatory dæmon; refers to Plato and Lycurgus; and wiſhes for deities to regulate affairs

affairs which are allotted only to mortals. The principles and maxims he has ſcattered through his treatiſe, are all invalidated by a declaration, that "to inveſtigate thoſe conditions of ſociety "which may beſt anſwer the purpoſes of nations, "would require the abilities of ſome ſuperior in-"telligence, who ſhould be witneſs to all the paſ-"ſions of men, but be ſubject to none. He who "undertakes to form a body politic, ought to "perceive himſelf capable of working a total "change in human nature."—He does not bear in mind, that government is the principal inſtrument of that change; and that the public will, being expreſſed by a permanent Conſtitution, would form that public judgment and public reaſon, by the neceſſity of reflection on the events it produced: effects would become cauſes, and errors inſtructions.

The Inquiry of Sir James Steuart is learned and profound; but it is clogged with prejudices, and obſcured by a ſtile uncouth and almoſt unintelligible; it has therefore been of more utility to authors than to the public:—and Adam Smith, with inferior powers and leſs information, but with more art of arrangement, and greater perſpicuity of language, has attracted more attention, and been

been of greater ſervice in ſtimulating political inquiries—But no plan ſimilar to that of Alfred had been ſuggeſted to controul the deſpotiſm of all diſcretionary delegations, when the American Revolution invited political philoſophers to diſplay their talents and knowledge.

But as I would diſtinguiſh ſpeculations from facts, I ſhall render the Conſtitutions of the American States the materials of another Leſſon.

LESSON

LESSON VII.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Numa religionibus et divino jure populum devinxit.
Tac. Ann. iii. 36.

TRUTHS are never controverted with paſſion and malignity, if not enjoined as articles of belief. In the demonſtrative ſciences, truths not univerſally underſtood are not received, and never enjoined, though immediately tending to public advantage. It would be thus in religious inquiries, if religion were left by men as it is left by God.—Your Royal Highneſs will eaſily imagine, I do not mean by the word God any of thoſe immoral, miſchievous, malignant phantoms the patrons of particular nations, whether Jews or Gentiles—I do not mean any of thoſe divinities, with whom the moſt exceptionable of your anceſtors have affected a particular intimacy—I do not mean any of thoſe beings who may be called upon by venal and unprincipled prieſts, to throw the varied veils of contradictory ſuperſtitions over the infernal

infernal intrigues which may tinge the earth with human blood from the ſhores of the Danube to Nootka Sound—I mean the God of *all* nature, of *all* mankind—of whoſe exiſtence no mind can doubt, without being involved in inextricable abſurdities—but

"In ſearch of whom, o'erſtretched idea burſts,
"And thought rolls back on darkneſs."——

The power, wiſdom, and goodneſs of this ineffable Being have been aſſociated with the moſt pernicious vices, in the characters of an indefinite number of gods; the fear and worſhip of which have been deemed neceſſary auxiliaries to various forms of political government. The ſuperſtition being involved in the conſtitution, ſometimes its inſtrument, ſometimes its *director*, it was ſheltered from the approaches of reaſon or inquiry by the ſuppoſed expedience of ſupporting that Conſtitution.—Among the ſucceſsful impoſtures of this kind, the Roman Catholic ſuperſtition is remarkable: it approached the civil government in the garb of lowly meekneſs and diſintereſted humility; it ſought toleration, then protection, then dominion: it nearly obtained the wiſh of Caligula;

gula; for mankind ſeemed to have one neck, on which it ſet its foot.

In any inſtitution, as in any private mind, the ſpirit of intolerance and perſecution is in proportion to its oppoſition to reaſon and the enormity of its abſurdities. The cruelties of the church of Rome have, therefore, been ſo horrible, that they will leave on the character of human nature a ſtain which no time or virtue can efface.

When the oppreſſions of this pernicious deſpotiſm became intolerable, ſome ameliorations took place, under pretences of reformation, on this general principle, *that in order to preſerve the profits and advantages of eccleſiaſtical impoſture, ſome of its moſt enormous and ſhameful abuſes ſhould be relinquiſhed.*

Hence the moderation and prudence of thoſe eccleſiaſtical policies denominated reformed; and thoſe qualities are to be found among ſectaries in a graduated ſtate, as their power is diminiſhed, and they are forced by reciprocal contentions towards the confines of reaſon. But in all Chriſtian ſects, the Quakers only excepted, the principle

ciple of perſecution is to be diſcerned, under ſome pretence or diſguiſe, and in a dormant or active ſtate; and it will ever remain, while a ſingle privileged impoſtor, whether he be called a Pope, a Biſhop, a Diſſenting Clergyman, or a Methodiſt Exhorter, can find his advantage in annexing or affecting to annex merit or demerit to the belief of any propoſitions.

In the inſtitution of the Church of England, the Engliſh reformers could not agree on *all* the Popiſh abuſes to be relinquiſhed, and the Puritan faction aroſe, which has continued to this time, under various forms, the faithful repoſitory of intereſted diſcontent, virulent zeal for favourite opinions, and a ſincere, though generally miſtaken patriotiſm.

In the clumſy engine called the Engliſh Government at the Reformation, the Church had conſiderable effect, and was an important part. Government, therefore, exerciſed ſeverities on thoſe who diſturbed its operations, and the foundations of the American ſtates were laid by a ſpecies of intolerance in England, the natural effect of an ill-conſtructed and vicious conſtitution.

It

It would lead me too far out of my way to trace the character of each American ſtate in its origin; in the objects, manners, and inſtitutions of its firſt planters; and in the ſucceeding operations of their various charters.

This is an inquiry as important to an American ſtateſman, as it would be inſtructive to the world—But I only wiſh to point out to your Royal Highneſs, that an American, drawing in with his firſt breath a juſt abhorrence of thoſe ariſtocratic and eccleſiaſtic privileges, which held Europe in perpetual warfare, oppreſſion, and miſery—and the American ſtates having happily defeated all the arts of Britain to introduce them under any pretences, or in any forms—it may be expected, their conſtitutions would be conſiderable improvements on that of England. By a candid and fair examination, this expectation will not be greatly diſappointed.

On the emancipation of America, ſhe exhibited ſeveral extraordinary characters; and the multitude is ever diſpoſed to aſcribe great events to reputed great men: than which there is not an error more pernicious in the regions of credulity.

The Americans became free by exerciſing a very moderate portion of paſſive prudence, and that prudence was the offspring of neceſſity. Waſhington acted the part of Fabius, becauſe he had not Fabius's army; for the Americans would often have fought if they could, and by fighting have loſt their country.

With Franklin I was in great intimacy, when this event was ſtruggling in the womb.—I ſpeak not from fancy, but from certain knowledge, that he ſincerely wiſhed to prevent it; and that when forced into political negociations, for which he had no talents, his merit conſiſted in prudent patience. The Revolution of America was completely managed in England; and its principal authors were Lord North, Lord Sackville, and Mr. Jenkinſon. The American war originated in parliamentary jobbing; the principal object of it was to transfer enormous maſſes of Engliſh property into taxes, to form that corrupt miniſterial phalanx called the Monied Men. While this monſter was draining the vital ſubſtances of Britain, and even armies and navies were merely its ramifications, the cabinet of France obeyed the ſentiments of the nation

nation without intending to gratify it, and America obtained its liberty.

When the leaders of the American States aſſembled to form the Conſtitution of the Republic, not one of them diſcovered the genius of a great ſtateſman. But the American character ſerved them on this occaſion: they had patience; information flowed in from every part of the world; and they formed with conſiderable wiſdom the federative conſtitution of the American States.

On this occaſion it is but juſtice to obſerve, that the perſons moſt celebrated were not the moſt uſeful; that almoſt all important hints were taken from communications, the authors of which may never be mentioned; and that the plan was adopted, not invented, by thoſe who will have the hiſtorical fame of it.

I am not ſufficiently ſkilled in drawing, to give a delineation of the federative conſtitution of the American States: it ſhould be that of a body formed of thirteen complete bodies; each having a character, intereſt, and will. The inconveniencies of diſparity and incongruity in theſe bodies were

perceived, and ſome proviſion made for them in the proportionate delegations of every State to the general Congreſs. But I am convinced the whole wants that unity, harmony, capacity of common judgment and general will, which would have reſulted from a general organization of the republic into one body; and that in time, the various characters and intereſts of the American States will ſeparate and alienate them.

The American Governments, ſeparately conſidered, are improvements on the Government of England.

Their parliamentary repreſentations have more reality; their councils and governors have fewer pernicious privileges than the Nobles and Kings of England; and the buds of induſtry are not blighted by the diſeaſed breath of an indolent hierarchy. Security, liberty, and happineſs are more diffuſed; and inſtead of ſeeing a pariſh ſtarving in rags, while the Juſtice of the Peace, the Rector, and the Attorney are racking off at every joint the direful effects of gluttony and intemperance, every family is cloathed and fed comfortably, and health and happineſs are generally diffuſed.

When

When the French cabinet aſſiſted in the emancipation of America, its object was merely to ſever it from England, and to divide the empire of a rival power. It happily had not the penetration to diſcern all the conſequences.

The partial liberty of the Engliſh Preſs had been extremely uſeful to the American cauſe; and the French were permitted to diſcuſs the queſtions from which it originated, both in converſation and in their public writings. Government miſtook the ſubmiſſion of France for a native and fixed torpor; and apprehended that ſlavery and ſuperſtition were the habits of Frenchmen, however they might chatter on Liberty and Philoſophy. The French auxiliaries returned from America fully charged with electric fire; diſaffected Engliſh aſſociated with Americans at Paris; and ſtimulated philoſophy to approach the ancient and mouldering fabric of deſpotiſm. The ſparks of Liberty fell on touch-wood, and the whole at once blazed into aſhes.

LESSON VIII.

CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE.

Sententia Platonis ſemper in ore fuit, "*Florere civitates,*
"*ſi Philoſophi imperarent, aut Imperatores philoſopha-*
"*rentur.*" Jul. Cap. in Marc. Aurel. §. 27.

I DO not mean to give in detail the external occurrences of the French Revolution: they are to be found in numerous publications; and they are accurately ſtated.

My intention is to delineate the object of the National Aſſembly, which is not underſtood in England, and is not clearly and permanently kept in view by the leading members of that reſpectable body.

Burke may declaim, "that a bloody and fero-
"cious democracy is demoliſhing ancient and vene-
"rable inſtitutions,"—yet the eye of philoſophy may paſs the ſtreights of Dover, and fix on the path of his ambition.—Stanhope may rummage conventicles for ſaints to hail an approaching millenium

lenium, *on the principles of the Engliſh Revolution!* when *Prieſtley* with the zeal and verboſity of a *Baxter*, and *Price* with the *meek* and *holy* ambition of *Praiſe-God Barebones*, may trample on the *Lauds*, the *Bonners*, the *Horſleys*, and the *Barringtons* of the time. Pitt may affect to rejoice in the improvements of a ſcience that would be fatal to his impoſtures—and even Brand Hollis, emancipated from the juſt puniſhment of bribery, may gratulate the immaculate purity of future Parliaments.—Theſe are the artifices of ſelf-intereſted empirics; who, like the fly in the fable, place themſelves on the wheel of human events, and buz to the ideots around them, that they influence and regulate its rotations.

The purpoſe of the National Aſſembly of France is—not to introduce a democracy in any ſenſe familiar to a mind ſo perverted by falſe philoſophy, ſuperſtition, and ſordid ſelfiſhneſs, as that of Edmund Burke—it is not to imitate the meaſures of the Engliſh revolution, the political principles of which they deſpiſe—it is not to ſubſtitute Janſeniſm for Popery, Preſbyterianiſm for Epiſcopacy, or to aid the pretended improvements of a ſyſtem of impoſition by the ſophiſms of Arians and So-

cinians—it is not to adopt the creeds of our political parties, or to juſtify the principles of Whigs or Tories—it is to aboliſh every contrivance and pretence by which one or a few may be privileged, firſt to benefit, then to injure millions—to deſtroy that principle of all modern governments, that a part is greater than the whole; and inſtead of applying a machine denominated either Monarchic, Ariſtocratic, or Democratic—to govern the community for the advantage of individuals, orders, or profeſſions—to organize the community itſelf; to form it into an actual body; to diffuſe a lively and poignant ſenſibility over its ſurface; to connect the extremities with the ſeat of reflection and thought; and to introduce that general ſympathy, which ever prevents a well-conſtructed body from injuring any of its parts.

Though this plan may have ſome novelty, the idea of it has been long ſuggeſted, and the general outlines given.

Hiſtory will not enable us to judge of the whole of the views of Alfred: we learn, however, from the general traditions of Europe in his time, that ideas of a community was entertained ſuperior to

thoſe

thoſe of Kings or the Councils of Kings. In thoſe aſſemblies of the Franks, from which the eſtates of France are denominated, they determined on peace and war, and examined the regulations which the King or Maire of the palace publiſhed. The ordonnances called capitularies had not the force of laws, were not enrolled in the Salic code, till ſanctioned by the conſent of the eſtates. The Aſſemblies conſiſted of *all* the claſſes; but the peaſants were ſlaves.

The Mycle-gemot of Alfred was ſimilar to thoſe Aſſemblies. Modern Governments have avoided every thing analogous to them. In the original conſtitution of Geneva, periodical councils were provided with a compulſory power to oblige the the magiſtrates and all the orders of the ſtate to confine themſelves within the preſcribed bounds; but by the intrigues of the magiſtrates they were diſcontinued.

In the long and various ſtruggles of the Engliſh Commons, before and ſince the celebrated Revolution of 1788, they obtained no more than a pretended repreſentation for the ordinary purpoſes of govern-

government, and the removal of ſome abuſes in the adminiſtration of the laws.

Compared with other nations, the condition of an Engliſhman was advantageous; but no man is free, whoſe property and life are at the diſcretion of others, in whoſe appointment he has no real choice, and over whoſe conduct he has no controul; and no man can be happy, while half the fruits of his induſtry are forced from him to ſooth the pride and foſter the profligacy of numerous uſeleſs and oppreſſive orders.

At the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, the pretended repreſentation, called an Engliſh Parliament, was appointed by thoſe who had the power, for three years. To prove that the public was nothing, even at the time when it was proclaimed through Europe the *Nation* had made choice of your Royal Highneſs's family, George the Firſt had been but a few years on the throne, when it had the profligate audacity to render three years ſeven, and to enact this violation of faith and right the future law of Parliament. The Roman Decemvirate, or college of ten, is juſtly conſigned to perpetual infamy for acting on a ſimilar

milar principle with the Engliſh Houſe of Commons; being eſtabliſhed for a limited time, for a ſpecific purpoſe, and attempting to turn a temporary truſt into a perpetual tyranny.

He who commits a truſt, parts only with the *adminiſtration*; it is not poſſible to convert a truſt into an abſolute right, or a diſcretionary and independent power.

The Engliſh Parliament, intoxicated with ſucceſs, avowed a doctrine deſtructive of the firſt principles of free government: it was declared, the people when aſſembled (and they never were aſſembled) were every thing: when they had made their election, they were nothing; and Parliament became *omnipotent*. Though the ſupreme power in every community formed to be free muſt be indiviſible and inalienate; though it be impoſſible it ſhould ſubmit its ſovereignty to an Emperor, a King, or a Senate, without violating the act by which it exiſts as a community, without annihilating itſelf—and out of nothing, nothing can ariſe—yet Parliament maintained that its power and prerogatives were paramount, diſcretionary, and incontrolable, not only over the perſons from whom

whom it pretended a delegation, but from thoſe provinces and colonies which were not included in the farce of repreſentation.

The deſpotic violence with which every thing was conducted in the propoſed ſubjugation of America—the political maxims avowed, and the ſanguine meaſures executed, rouſed the attention of the world.

England ſaw itſelf, as well as its dependencies, trampled with impunity, by pretended delegates aſſuming the prerogatives of deſpotic maſters. Petitions and remonſtrances were preſented, and aſſociations formed, to induce this monſter to moderate its ravages, and to prevail on it *to reform itſelf*.

The puſillanimity and abſurdity of theſe meaſures, in a powerful community pretending to be free, gave riſe to a pamphlet, entitled, LETTERS ON POLITICAL LIBERTY, addreſſed to the Aſſociations; this pamphlet firſt drew my attention to the poſſible mode of *organizing* a community into a free, active, and powerful body; having and retaining a permanent judgment and will;

will; and exerciſing thoſe powers, without tumult or diſorder, over all its delegations, whether Kings, Senates, or Magiſtrates.* The Author calls on the nation, in a tone of earneſt enthuſiaſm, to reſtore the conſtitution of Alfred with ſuch improvements as ſuit the preſent condition of perſonal liberty: and by theſe means to remove the numerous evils of the police, and the groſs abuſes of legiſlative authority.—The Aſſociations were aſtoniſhed, but not adviſed. A tranſlation was circulated in France with great avidity; and it was at Paris when the tranſlator of this pamphlet was ſent into the Baſtile—I formed, in company with —— ——— my opinions on the conſtitution of a free ſtate. I found the philoſophers of France better inſtructed in this ſubject than thoſe of England;† but they had no apprehenſion, that the general

* A ſimilar pamphlet was publiſhed about the ſame time, and containing ſimilar ideas, called A Plan of Aſſociation on Conſtitutional Principles; and I ſuſpect, by the language, it was written by the ſame Author.

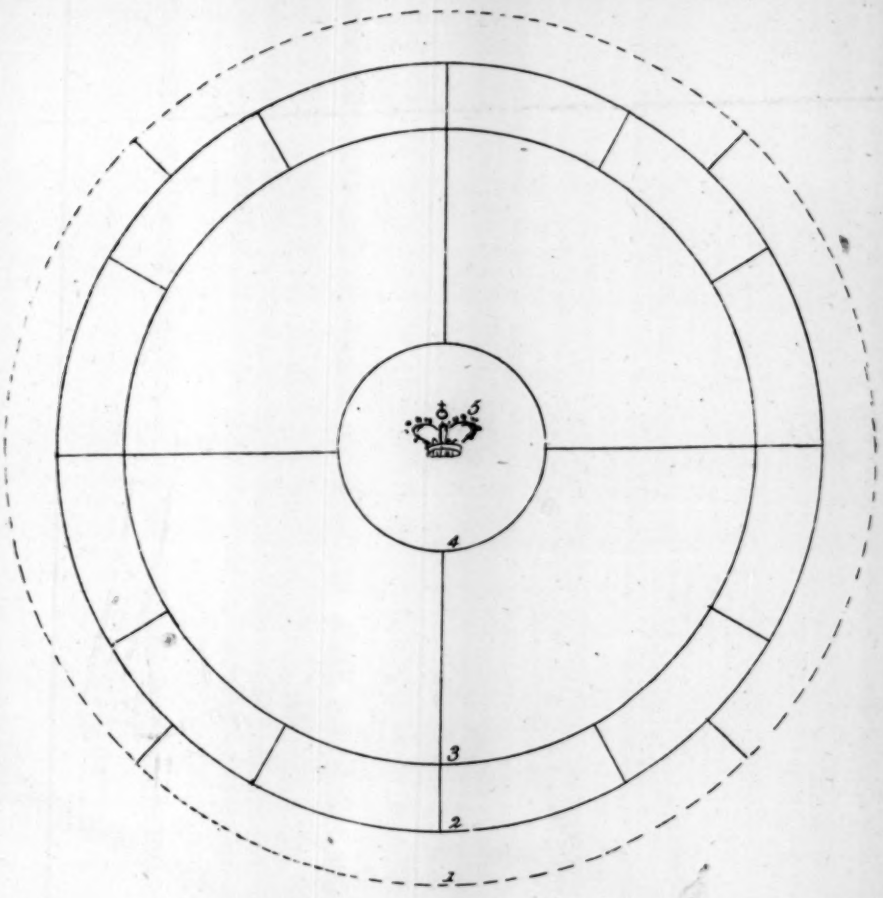
† I except a Gentleman who has dedicated works to your Royal Highneſs in the plain and manly language of Virtue. In Lectures on Political Principles, by David Williams, ideas of organiſed conſtitutions ſuited to all climates, &c. are oppoſed to

general diſpoſition of the French nation would admit of their ideas and wiſhes.

When the diſtreſs of the treaſury threatened a bankruptcy, and Necker adviſed the provincial aſſemblies and the meeting of the Notables, he had no intention to form a free conſtitution: his object was ſimilar to that of the Kings of England, who ſummoned the deputies of boroughs to deviſe modes of conveying their contributions without trouble. Necker was not aware, that the ſatires of Voltaire on the Clergy had rendered them juſtly and univerſally odious; that the numerous and oppreſſive privileges of the Nobles were deeply, though ſilently reſented; and that France abounded with philoſophers, who would promptly ſeize the firſt occaſion to develope and execute their political ideas.——This occaſion aroſe, and the conſtitution of France was imagined.

to thoſe of Monteſquieu with great addreſs and effect. But the Author, bold as he is, expreſſes himſelf in the language of of ſpeculation, little imagining that the National Aſſembly of France would immediately publiſh ſo glorious a Commentary on his work.

CONSTITUTION of FRANCE



1. The People divided into Cantons but those who pay no Taxes & those who are in Servitude have nô Votes & are not Citizens The Citizens in their Cantons chuse
2. The Electors by way of eminence divided into Districts. This Eminence or distinction arises from the privilege of electing the Judges. Magistrates, Bishops, &c. &c. who preside in
3. The Departments. The same Electors chuse
4. The National Assembly
5. The Executive Power having the Privilege of sending Com- -missioners to preside at the Assemblies of the Districts.

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It is hardly fair to offer a delineation of a fabric not yet formed; ſome parts of which may not be determined upon, and ſome may be altered. But if this little work ſhould ever be honoured with any attention in France, I hope my purpoſe will not be miſunderſtood. Though I do not join in any of thoſe compliments to the National Aſſembly, which are ſent from this country, to aſſiſt private views, and to give conſequence to intereſted parties—the deſigns and efforts of real patriotiſm in France have not a warmer friend in the world than myſelf: and if I offer remarks on an event the moſt beneficial to humanity in all the records of mankind, it is to afford aſſiſtance and to induce the philoſophic politicians of the National Aſſembly to re-conſider their fundamental laws.

In the definition and appointment of citizens, there is a want of juſtice; and in the conſtruction of a political ſtate, as in that of a private character,

"Want of Virtue is want of ſenſe."

The firſt and general purpoſe of ſociety is to guard the weak againſt the ſtrong, and the poor

againſt the rich. The pooreſt and moſt helpleſs of the people are deprived of the only conſolation or ground of hope, the only ſtimulus to content, honeſty, and virtue in their ſituation—*the choice of their maſters.* It is this condemnation to a ſpecies of ſlavery, that renders ſervants a ſeparate and profligate corps; and a ſimilar injuſtice to thoſe of the people, whoſe poverty is a ſufficient evil, will be a diſeaſe in the conſtitution, which no palliatives can remove.

The Aſſemblies of the people are too numerous. Monteſquieu (Let. Perſ.) obſerves, "The "heads of the greateſt men ſeem to be narrowed "(retrecies) when they are aſſembled; and in the "greateſt *number* of wiſe men, there is the leaſt "wiſdom."

Alfred was aware of this truth; and the firſt diviſions of his political body, like the capillary veſſels on the ſurface of the natural, were ſmall, and formed to execute their offices without violence. The tithings conſiſted only of ten families. I never ſaw an aſſembly, exceeding twenty, whatever the abilities of the members, that was not more

more diſpoſed to paſſion and tumult, than to reaſon and judgment.

The diſtinction of the ELECTORS in the diſtricts, and the privilege of electing both into the departments and into the National Aſſembly, is without reaſon.—The graduated elections are not ſo equitable, or ſo well imagined, as thoſe in the conſtitution of Alfred.

The National Aſſembly, if choſen in the departments, would be every thing deſigned by Alfred in the inſtitution of the Mycel-gemot: but if its number could be reduced, and buſineſs done more by open committees and printed propoſals, than by oratory, it would be improved. It ſhould alſo openly and decidedly avow its competency to form and enact all conſtitutional and fundamental laws without any communication with the executive power. A period ſhould be as fixed as the conſtitution, in which a ſimilar aſſembly ſhould always be choſen, and meet without ſummons or leave from any other power; and its buſineſs ſhould be to reviſe and correct all fundamental regulations, to inſpect the conduct of the ordi-

nary government and legiſlation, and to redreſs or remove all national grievances.

The interference of the executive power by commiſſioners in the diſtricts is a privilege of fatal effect; and if not withdrawn, will ſoon render the conſtitution of France as corrupt, as vicious, and as much a deception, as that of England.

LESSON

LESSON IX.

CONCLUSION.

———*Suadere Principi quod oporteat, multi laboris; aſſentatio erga Principem quemcumque ſine affectu peragitur.* Tac.

ACQUIESCING in the ſentiment of Tacitus on the difficulty of adviſing Princes, I ſhall not long detain your Royal Highneſs on the uſe to be made of the information I have taken the liberty to lay before you.

An attentive view of the political conſtitutions I have delineated, will convince your Royal Highneſs, that the principles of legiſlation and government are ſtudied; and that political and eccleſiaſtical impoſtures will be generally detected and deſtroyed.

The difference of the French and Engliſh Conſtitution will be that of an organized body acting for itſelf, and a paſſive maſs acted upon. I need

not point out the advantage to France, beſides that of its climate and population.

But as this may be a truth of magnitude, not to be readily admitted, your Royal Highneſs will permit me to ſuggeſt the immediate effect of emigration, from cauſes which you ſhould be anxious to remove, if you regard the future population and ſtate of the country.

The conſtruction of the French government implies a perfect police; for the magiſtrates are *choſen* in all the neighbourhoods, and their offices are annual: indeed the whole body guards and protects itſelf. This will be ſoon known to thoſe prodigious multitudes of timid and female houſeholders in England, who are plundered by every device that avarice can ſuggeſt to thoſe appointed to protect them.

Perfect liberty of opinion, both in thought and words, will carry over conſcientious and induſtrious diſſenters, who are here ſubject to diſadvantages, from circumſtances which do them honour. To prevent the conſequences of this evil, I do not mean that Puritaniſm ſhould be ſubſtituted

ſtituted for the eſtabliſhed rites; but that government is unjuſt, when it engages in one religious faction to the inconvenience of another; and that by avoiding this error, France will draw from England great numbers of its uſeful citizens.

I will not weary your Royal Highneſs by a minute detail of the diſadvantages under which England muſt act, if its government be not improved, in proportion as France advances in the judicious conſtruction of its political conſtitution.

Your Royal Highneſs will recollect, that the Engliſh Government is a machine acting on the people, and managed at the will and for the intereſt of particular orders; whereas the CONSTITUTION OF A COUNTRY, to bear even a definition, ſhould comprehend the people; to produce Liberty, it ſhould allow them a choice of the Legiſlature and Magiſtrates.

When that choice is made, a power ſhould remain in the community to prevent all abuſes of truſt; and all interference of the legiſlature in fundamental laws.

The

The Mycel-gemot of Alfred and the National Aſſembly of France are calculated for this purpoſe; their objects are conſtitutional: but we have no aſſembly in England bearing the ſlighteſt analogy to them. Hence the abſurdities perpetually recurring in Engliſh legiſlation; the power of making laws for temporary purpoſes confounded with the national ſovereignty;* and the moſt iniquitous uſurpations juſtified by aſſimilating the ideas of truſt and right: infamous and audacious adventurers, the tools of feudal deſpots, of mercantile companies and corrupt miniſters, in marketable boroughs, holding the language of maſters to ſix millions of people, and contending for the lucrative privilege of deſpoiling them.

The laws, when made, would be equitably and expeditiouſly adminiſtered by judges and magiſtrates choſen and approved by the vicinages; and the periodical viſitations of loquacious and unprincipled lawyers would not act on the country as periodical peſtilences.

* During the late illneſs of the King, miniſterial majorities in a temporary legiſlature claimed the abſolute ſovereignty of the ſtate.

The

The juſtices of the peace, the moſt numerous and important magiſtrates, would not be, as they now are, the devoted inſtruments of devoted inſtruments. And the Clergy, emancipated from an humiliating and diſhonourable patronage, which muſt ever have an intereſt in exalting ſycophants and depreſſing manly and uſeful talents, would aſſume a new character, and from being the tools of corrupt influence, would become the real miniſters of religion and virtue.

Improvements of this kind *muſt* take place, if the Conſtitution of France be eſtabliſhed, or this Country will immediately loſe its rank.

Though I do not ſubſcribe to the opinion of your Royal Father, that the meaſures at Paris have a tendency to deprive Europe of its Kings in thirty years, I am ſure that in a very few, they will render the duty and office of a King of England very different from that of a ſplendid partiſan, directing the ſervility and avarice of ranks, claſſes, and profeſſions to particular purpoſes; encountering faction by faction; involving himſelf in the inextricable labyrinth of ineffectual expedients.

pedients. If you keep your eye on the conſtitution of France, you may prepare yourſelf for the character you may have to ſuſtain: and if you favour the neceſſary improvements of the government of your country, you will ſecure its juſt rank among the nations of Europe, fix your own happineſs on a certain foundation, and enroll your name among the great benefactors of mankind.

Theſe are wiſhes which will never be expreſſed in your hearing, by the paraſites of your Court, or the objects of your political confidence. I have no private intereſt in the trouble I have taken. I ſeek not your favour; and in the decent and legal exerciſe of my abilities, I reſpectfully preſume I need not fear your diſpleaſure. In all the imaginable fluctuations of parties my name will never be brought to your Royal Highneſs in the liſts of candidates for places. And in the temporary confuſion and anarchy of any poſſible revolution, my age, my infirmities, my inclinations, and my habits, preclude all effort and hope for my own advantage.

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If,

If, therefore, in the hints I have ventured to ſubmit to you, I have erred—the fault is in my judgment, not in my heart: if I have ſuggeſted any thing that may influence your mind, the benefit will be—not to me, but to your Royal Highneſs and to your Country.

THE END.

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